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TORTURE EXPOSED

U.S. occupation forces in disarray as Iraqi resistance grows

By Fred Goldstein

Fearing that the Pentagon's bloody and brutal attempts to crush the Iraqi resistance were endangering the entire colonial occupation in Iraq, a section of the U.S. ruling class has lifted the lid on the military-CIA torture machine.

CBS-TV's 60 Minutes II ran sensational torture photos on May 1. Seymour Hersh, in the May 5 edition of the New Yorker magazine, wrote a major article with information from a suppressed military investigation of torture at Abu Ghraib prison. The Los Angeles Times of May 3 followed with excerpts from a 53-page summary of an investigation carried out by Maj. Gen. Antonio M. Taguba.

The torture photos show brutality against naked and hooded Iraqis. In one, a hooded Iraqi stands on a crate with electrical wires attached to his fingers and genitals after being threatened with electrocution should he step off the box. They flashed around the world and produced a fire storm of outrage.

The Pentagon, the White House and the State Department, in their rush to do damage control, all trumpeted the same line: this was an aberration carried out by a few bad apples. But this argument quickly fell apart when it was revealed that the military had more than 30 criminal investigations ongoing of abuse by U.S. forces in Iraq and Afghanistan, including 10 cases of suspicious death, 10 cases of abuse, and two deaths already determined to have been criminal homicides.

"To date," wrote the New York Times of May 5, "the most severe penalties in any of the cases were less-than-honorable discharges for five Army soldiers. ... No one has been sent to prison."

Hersh went beyond the photos to summarize some of the grim and detailed findings of the investigation. According to Hersh, Taguba's report charged that between October and December of 2003 there were numerous instances of "sadistic, blatant and wanton criminal abuses" at Abu Ghraib, carried out by members of the 372nd Military Police Company and also by "members of the American military intelligence community."

Specifically the report described "breaking chemical lights and pouring the phosphoric liquid on detainees; pouring cold water on naked detainees; beating detainees with a broom handle and a chair; threatening male detainees with rape; allowing a military police guard to stitch the wound of a detainee who was injured after being slammed against the wall of his cell; sodomizing a detainee with a chemical light and perhaps a broomstick, and using military working dogs to frighten and intimidate detainees with threat of attack, and in one instance actually biting a detainee," among other atrocities.

While photos were not included in

Taguba's report, they were leaked to both CBS and Hersh. Hersh revealed that "Two Iraqi faces that do appear in the photographs are those of dead men. There is the battered face of prisoner No. 153399, and the bloodied body of another prisoner, wrapped in cellophane and packed in ice. There is a photograph of an empty room, splattered with blood."

Soldiers had been prison guards in U.S.

Hersh also leaked the proceedings of an Article 32 hearing involving one of the low-level torturers, Staff Sgt. Ivan L. Frederick II, the senior enlisted person at the prison. Frederick and Specialist Charles Garner, also up for court-martial, had been put in charge of the prison because they had both been prison guards back home "and had a knowledge of how things were supposed to run," according to testimony at the hearing.

Frederick, a sadistic military cop, was described at the hearing as forcing Iraqis into sexual positions, hitting one man so hard that he "almost had cardiac arrest,"

and hitting another in the rib cage. Hersh wrote that Frederick had revealed in letters and e-mails home before he was charged that "military-intelligence teams, which included CIA officers and linguists and interrogation specialists from private defense contractors, were the dominant force inside Abu Ghraib."

Frederick testified that military intelligence had "instructed us to place a prisoner in an isolation cell with little or no clothes, no toilet or running water, no ventilation or window, for as much as three days." Frederick was told by militaryintelligence, "Great job," because they were getting "positive results."

Hersh continued: "In November, Frederick wrote, an Iraqi prisoner under the control of what Abu Ghraib guards call 'O.G.A.,' or other government agenciesthat is, the CIA and its paramilitary employees—was brought in for questioning. 'They stressed him out so bad that the man passed away. They put his body in a body bag and packed him in ice for approximately 24 hours in the shower. ...

Continued on page 8



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A year ago, the corporate media was echoing Bush, saying that Iraq had been "liberated" and the war was over. Workers World's headline was: "Colonial occupation in trouble—U.S. moves to disarm Iraqis, but it's easier said than done."

A year ago, Wall Street analysts and their media friends were saying that the economy was on the rebound. But Workers World wrote about "More Black children mired in poverty" and "It's a fact: wages are falling."

Two years ago the commercial newspapers and television stations here depicted the Palestinians as nothing but "terrorists." But Workers World's front-page headline reported that "100,000 in D.C., 35,000 in San Francisco say: 'Free, free Palestine."

Two years ago the mouthpieces for U.S. imperialism were writing that the Venezuelan people were against President Hugo Chávez. But Workers World's headline reported: "Mass uprising defeats CIA coup in Venezuela." Chávez is still there and the Bolivarian Revolution is moving forward.

Workers World doesn't invent the news. Nor does it have a crystal ball. But it does look for what the big business media suppresses. For 45 years, it has reported on popular struggles and analyzed them from a socialist perspective. It finds the chinks in the armor of the ruling class, and shows how the world working class and the oppressed nations have the capacity to bring down imperialism, scrap the profit system, and create a just world order that runs on cooperation, not exploitation.

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Be part of the solution. Help build a workers' world.

Deirdre Griswold

Deirdre Griswold





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WW CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

Every Friday

Workers World Party weekly meetings at 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 7. At 422 S. Western Phone (213) 500-0529 for info.

NEW YORK

Fri., May 7

Workers World Party meeting on Iraq and Haiti. Fred Goldstein will speak on "Iraq Occupation in Crisis: Impact of U.S. torture and the growing resistance." Johnnie Stevens, who recently traveled to Haiti, will report on conditions for workers under following the U.S. coup. 7 pm. (Dinner at 6:30) 55 W. 17 St., 5th Fl., Manhattan. For info (212) 627-2994.

Fri., May 14

Workers World Party meeting. Hear WW editor Deirdre Griswold on "Science shackled: The legacy of Star Wars." Why U.S. science is falling behind; how this affects the workers and the world anti-imperi

alist struggle, 7 pm. (Dinner at 6:30) 55 W. 17 St., 5th Fl.,

Every Friday

Workers World Party weekly meeting. 7 p.m. (Dinner at 6:30) At 55 W. 17 St., 5th Fl., Manhattan. For info (212) 627-2994.

SAN FRANCISCO

Mon., May 17

National day of local Equal Marriage Rights Solidarity actions. In SF, gather at 5:00 p.m. at Powell & Market Sts. March to City Hall followed by a rally with guest Margaret Cho and others. For info (415) 821-6545

Every Sunday

Workers World Party weekly meetings. These educational meetings cover current events as well as struggles of the peoples from all over the world, 5 p.m. At 2489 Mission St., No. 28. For info (415)

Workers World

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Dowell and Feinberg:

Same-sex marriage struggle challenges the system

By Brenda Sandburg San Francisco

LeiLani Dowell and Leslie Feinberg, both members of Workers World Party, spoke here on May 2 at a forum entitled "Same-sex marriage and LGBT liberation: What we are fighting for." Together they connected the struggle for the civil right of same-sex marriage to battles against racism, poverty and imperialist war.

The meeting drew activists from the lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans communities in the Bay Area.

Dowell, an African American and Hawaiian lesbian anti-war activist, is a Congressional candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party. She stressed that lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people don't have some of the most basic civil rights that non-LGBT people take for granted. She said violence is one of the biggest problems lesbian, gay, bi and trans people face.

The more the U.S. government legitimizes discrimination against any group of people, the more violence against those people becomes acceptable, Dowell explained. She pointed to the post-9/11 roundups and increased violence against Muslim, Arab and South Asian immigrants as examples.

Dowell said the equal marriage rights struggle offers an opportunity to make alliances and change the political climate in this country. "LGBT people have been at the forefront of every single struggle in history," she recalled. "Now we must stand with the people of Iraq. We must

stand with the people of Haiti and whoever the U.S. sets its sights on."

Feinberg, a lesbian transgender author and a managing editor of Workers World newspaper, expressed her strong support for Dowell as a "struggle candidate" and expressed her willingness to pitch in on her campaign in every way possible.

Feinberg explained that the struggle for same-sex marriage is a matter of basic equality. However, it also challenges the bedrock of the capitalist system—the patriarchal, heterosexual nuclear family, which is the transmission belt of property and wealth in a class-divided society.

"This struggle for same-sex marriage offers us an opportunity to debunk the argument by right-wing ideologues that argues women have always been wives, and that the male-dominated heterosexual nuclear family is eternal," Feinberg said. "This 'Fred Flintstone School of anthropology' is like the bumper-sticker slogan: The more things change, the most they stay the same. It's meant to keep us from realizing that we can carry out revolutionary economic and social change."

Feinberg offered a historical view of families in matrilineal, pre-class communal societies as part of her argument that transformations in economic organization of human society have produced profound changes in social relations and human consciousness.

Feinberg recalled the solidarity that the left-wing of the early gay liberation movement in the U.S. extended to the Vietnamese people as they fought back against



WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL

LeiLani Dowell and Leslie Feinberg

the Pentagon. "It's easy to be against the Vietnam War now—it's over," Feinberg emphasized. "But then it was like the support today for the resistance of the Iraqi people and the Palestinian people. It took courage to stand with them when the heat was on."

Feinberg and Dowell both concluded that capitalist presidential elections would not end war for empire, racism, sexism or LGBT oppression.

"Clinton not only presided over eco-

nomic sanctions—an act of war—that resulted in the deaths of more than 1 million Iraqi civilians," Dowell stated. "He made common cause with arch-bigot Jesse Helms to sign the rotten legislation known as the 'Defense of Marriage Act' to ban same-sex marriage.

"What history, from the Stonewall Rebellion to the present, has shown all of us is that it takes us actively participating in the struggle to make change."

Mississippi hanging exposes Black struggle for land

By Minnie Bruce Pratt

Roy Veal, a descendant of African American farmers who was fighting to hold onto his family's land, was found hanging from a tree on April 23 in Woodville, Miss.

Woodville is in Wilkinson County just south of Natchez. It was the childhood home of Jefferson Davis, president of the slave-owning Confederate states, and site of his plantation, Rosemont.

Veal's relatives are emphatic that his death was a lynching. "They hang one and scare the rest, that's the way they do it in Mississippi," family member Willie Bradley told Brooklyn's Daily Challenge newspaper.

Veal had returned to his home from Seattle to help his family fight a land-grab attempt by whites who alleged title and timber rights to acres that had been in Veal's family for three generations, since the late 19th century.

Mississippi Department of Public Safety spokesperson Warren Stain declared the death as "consistent with suicide." But there are serious and troubling contradictions to this explanation, including the fact that Veal had been hooded in a pillowcase before his death. (Seattle Post-Intelligencer)

Theft of Black land

There is a long history of white vigilante violence against Black economic independ-

ence and land ownership in the region.

At the close of the Civil War, a few Union generals began to allocate the plantations of the former slave owners to freed African Americans, part of the "40 acres and a mule" land redistribution.

In Wilkinson County, Davis' 10,000-acre plantation, Rosemont, was declared a "home colony" under the protection of a Black regiment. The land was farmed cooperatively by newly freed people who set up a self-governing community there. (James Allen, "Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy 1865-1876")

Their hard-won freedom was pushed back by an alliance of the old Southern slaveocracy and Northern capital eager to profit in the region. A horrific wave of legal and extra-legal violence against African American people attempting to exercise basic democratic and economic rights swept through the South.

This violent assault on their self-determination was accomplished through torture, sexual humiliations and mutilations of men and women—similar to the torture of Iraqi resistance fighters by U.S. soldiers holding them as prisoners, as reported by Amnesty International and news media worldwide. And these were the same kind of tortures that were used against Native American people resisting colonization of their lands. (David E. Stannard, "American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World")

Black resistance

The Black community in the South mounted ferocious resistance to the white ruling class's attacks on their freedom.

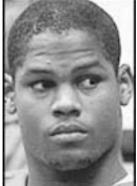
During a gubernatorial election in 1876, white night riders in adjoining West Feliciana, La., raided a section of the parish where they thought African Americans "hadn't come into line as they should" and hanged their leader, Tom Rice—not before, however, he, "hearing the horses' hoofs, hid in the brake back of his house and killed Mr. West," one of the white vigilantes. ("Eyes on the Prize" documentary)

The struggle for Black people to gain and retain land ownership was central to their survival in the South. If they could not win redistribution of the land, through outright occupation or through reparations legislation such as the "40 acres" grants, then newly freed Black people had no material basis for survival and no way to stand against the seizure of their newly won rights by a resurgent slaveocracy.

All other bourgeois democratic rights the right to vote, to testify in court, to form civil contracts such as marriage—were

Continued on page 4

Racist sentencing overturned in Georgia



Marcus Dixon

Marcus Dixon was freed on May 3 by the Georgia Supreme Court on appeal of his conviction of "aggravated child molestation" for having sexual relations with an almost 16-year-old white classmate when he was 18. Dixon, an honor student, all-state football star, and member of the high school chorus, had received a 10-year sentence, declared by NAACP President Kweisi Mfume to be "a travesty of justice." The Children's Legal Defense Fund had filed a friend-of-the-court brief in Dixon's support, saying that the Georgia law "was intended to protect children from predatory adults, not imprison teenagers for having sex with other teenagers," and that his conviction was a "legal lynching" that "echoed the old Southern obsession with miscegenation."

-Minnie Bruce Pratt

Puerto Rican activist attacked for anti-war stance

By Bryan G. Pfeifer Amherst, Mass.

In times of severe political crisis such as the current U.S. quagmire in Iraq, the ruling class seeks out diversions in an attempt to legitimize and rescue itself from the inherent contradictions within capitalism. Some of the ruling class's most faithful servants in this incessant endeavor are the capitalist media and politi-

A recent example of this was the vicious chauvinist and racist attacks on Rene Gonzalez, a Puerto Rican graduate student at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

On April 28 the Massachusetts Daily Collegian, the college newspaper at U-Mass Amherst, published Gonzalez' opinion piece headlined, "Pat Tillman is not a hero: He got what was coming to him."

Tillman, a former National Football League player, gave up a three-year, \$3.6 million contract to join the army in 2002. He eventually became a member of the Army Rangers, an elite mercenary force of U.S. imperialism. He was killed by Afghani guerilla fighters April 22 while "patrolling" the Afghanistan/Pakistan border near North Waziristan.

In his commentary, Gonzalez focused mostly on the hero worship of Tillman. He wrote in part:

"Tillman's service, along with that of thousands of American soldiers, has been wrongly utilized. He did die in vain, because in the years to come, we will realize the irrationality of the War on Terror and the American reaction to Sept. 11. The sad part is that we won't realize it before we send more people like Pat Tillman over to their deaths. ...

"However, in my neighborhood in Puerto Rico, Tillman would have been called an 'idiot'. This was a 'G.I. Joe' guy who got what was coming to him. That was not heroism, it was prophetic idiocy. ...

"Tillman, probably acting out his nationalist-patriotic fantasies forged in years of exposure to Clint Eastwood and Rambo movies, decided to insert himself into a conflict [where] he didn't need to insert himself."

Besides putting U.S. imperialism on trial, another aspect of the piece that drew the right wing's ire was Gonzalez' astute critique of the interconnection of U.S. sports and the military. Most notably, he pointed to the way these institutions perpetuate a super-aggressive, pro-heterosexual, misogynist and patriarchal culture.

Within hours of the Collegian hitting the news stands, a media and jingoist public frenzy ensued. Capitalist media across the United States published accounts of the attacks on Gonzalez. These began when a former Arizona State University football player and Tillman friend now attending U-Mass Amherst posted Gonzalez' piece to a message board on an ASU web site, encouraging readers to bombard the Collegian with anti-Gonzalez messages. The newspaper eventually received so much email and web site hits that it shut down.

Gonzalez has since apologized for any perceived insensitivity. But reactionary forces intensified the racist witch hunt.

There have been death threats, menacing enough that Gonzalez and his family decided to leave Amherst temporarily; a racist denunciation of Gonzalez by U-

Mass System President Jack M. Wilson; a resolution passed in the Massachusetts State Senate condemning Gonzalez; and a petition on campus, circulated by the College Republicans, to oust Gonzalez from his job at the Office of ALANA Affairs. This office is a progressive student organization representing African, Latino/a, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Native American students.

The Western Massachusetts affiliates of the International Action Center, Jobs with Justice, and U.S. Labor Against the War issued statements defending Gonzalez.

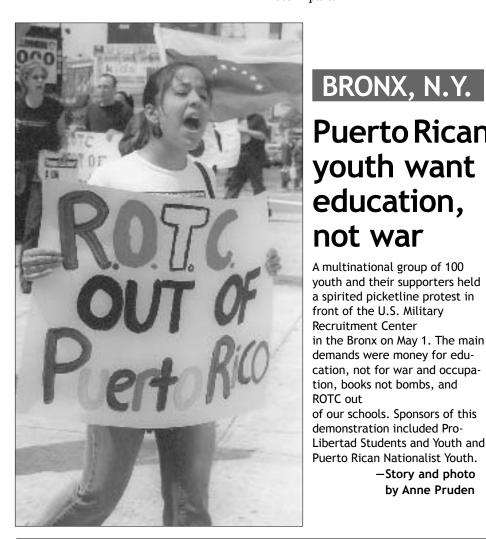
At the time of the anti-Gonzalez attacks, U.S. imperialism was suffering yet another public-relations disaster in Iraq with the revelation of the Pentagon's torture tactics, as well as increasing G.I. casualties-all while various polls showed the U.S. public increasingly in opposition to the occupation.

The right wing used Gonzalez in a most vile manner to fan the flames of national chauvinism in an attempt to divert attention from a U.S. occupation that has cost the lives of thousands of Iraqis and hundreds of GIs and diverted billions of dollars from poor, working and oppressed people in the United States and across the globe.

The right wing and its supporters also used this as an opportunity to attempt to terrorize into submission anyone who questions any aspect of U.S. imperialism, to slander Gonzalez' Puerto Rican heritage, and to drive a wedge between Gonzalez and the Office of ALANA Affairs.

As U.S. imperialism becomes increasingly bogged down in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere, the ruling class will increase such attacks, either nuanced or

The task then is to resolutely defend individual progressives like Gonzalez who come under attack, while building an independent mass movement that can organize against war, racism and occupation at home and abroad. \square



BRONX, N.Y.

Puerto Rican youth want education, not war

A multinational group of 100 youth and their supporters held a spirited picketline protest in front of the U.S. Military Recruitment Center in the Bronx on May 1. The main demands were money for education, not for war and occupation, books not bombs, and ROTC out of our schools. Sponsors of this demonstration included Pro-

> -Story and photo by Anne Pruden

Mississippi hanging exposes Black struggle for land

Conrinued from page 3

completely, inextricably and openly linked to this fight for economic justice.

Roy Veal, in his life and death, was part of the heroic struggle for Black independence in Wilkinson County.

Preceding him in the fight were such ancestors as noted author Richard Wright's maternal grandfather, Richard Wilson, who farmed in Woodville. Wilson escaped out of the fields of slavery to enlist in the Union Navy. He returned to the county after the war "to stand armed guard in front of ballot boxes to protect blacks who were voting." (Hazel Rowley, Richard Wright: The Life and Times")

During the civil-rights battles of the 1960s, state-sponsored white vigilantism continued in what activist Bob Moses called "symbolic acts of terror"—the attempt to intimidate the Black community through assassination of its leaders. In Wilkinson County, Lewis Allen and four other such leaders were killed in

Speaking that year, Moses said: "But while that was happening, what kept people going, and what still keeps people going, was that you were able to reach and make contact with the Negro farmers, with the people in the cities. You were able to actually grab a hold of them. There was some feeling that you had hit some rock bottom, that you had some base that you could work with and that you could build on, and as long as you had that, then maybe there was some hope for making some real changes someday." (Bob Moses, Voices of Freedom Project)

Defeating the Monolith

The fight to keep land in the hands of Black people in the South continues in the face of a system Moses characterized then as "the white citizens councils, the governor, the state legislature, the judiciary one monolithic system."

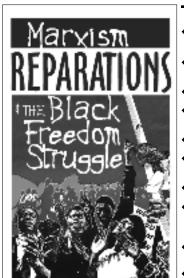
In 1920 over 925,000 Black farmers controlled over 15 million acres of land. Today there are only 15,000 to 18,000 farmers, with less than a million acres.

A 2001 Associated Press study documented "a pattern in which Black Americans were cheated out of their land or driven from it through intimidation, violence and even murder. In some cases, government officials approved the land takings; in others, they took part in them. The earliest occurred before the Civil War; others are being litigated today. ... Today, virtually all of this property, valued at tens of millions of dollars, is owned by whites or corporations." (Dr. Raymond A.Winbush, "The Earth Moved: Land Theft and African Americans in the United States")

The taking of these lands continues with the complicity of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which denies loans interests of corporate agribusiness. Challenge)□

Resistance also continues, however, as shown last July 4 in the dramatic takeover of USDA offices in Tennessee by 300 Black farmers.

Speaking for Roy Veal's family, Willie Bradley says: "This is not over. We want to find out what happened, and the fight to Black farmers, thus furthering the will go on to keep the family land." (Daily



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While Kerry woos Wall Street

Economic woes of workers deepen

By Deirdre Griswold

There's never been a better time to hit hard at the robthe-poor, please-the-rich policies of the Bush administration than now. The question is, who's going to do it?

Not John Kerry, that's for sure. He is currently on a charm offensive with big business, according to an article in the May 3 Wall Street Journal. Kerry is hoping to attract more of the big money that has been going overwhelmingly to George W. Bush's campaign.

The economy, according to those analysts in favor on Wall Street and in Washington, is doing fine. What is their measure of success? The money big corporations and investors are making. Profits are up and the stock market is higher than six months ago.

But it takes only the smallest scratch on the surface of this bubble to find out that the tens of millions of workers who create all the wealth being divvied up by the capitalist class are facing a broad array of critical problems.

Take housing. Some 2 million families depend on federal subsidies—known as Section 8—to be able to pay the rent and keep from being homeless. This number has grown as wages have fallen in relation to housing costs.

The Bush administration has just announced a change in the rules of its voucher system that will reduce the amount of federal money paid into local housing programs. In New York City, for example, the new rule will strip away \$55 million in housing subsidies for low-income families. The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities says the total national shortfall could be hundreds of millions of dollars this year. That shortfall, in turn, may force housing agencies to freeze the number of rent vouchers, demand more money from tenants or do something that has never happened in Section 8's three-decades history: evict tenants from federally subsidized housing because of insufficient funding.

The number of homeless families forced to live on the streets is bound to rise as this new rule takes effect. The toll this will take on the physical and mental health of adults and especially children is incalculable.

Consumer debt reaches \$1 trillion

For workers a little higher up the income ladder, the future is also bleak.

People who have managed to buy some kind of place to live, whether it's a house, a mobile home or an apartment, are deep in debt. And mortgage rates are starting to rise

Roger Whelan, resident scholar at the American Bankruptcy Institute in Alexandria, Va., says that "Consumer debt has doubled in the past 10 years, excluding mortgage indebtedness, while personal savings have decreased from 5.8 percent to 2 percent in the past 10 years."

Consider that from September 2002 to September 2003, a record 1.66 million, or 1 out of every 73 households, filed for personal bankruptcy.

In April, the total amount of consumer debt in this country—which does not include home mortgages—exceeded \$1 trillion for the first time. That averages out to \$14,000 for a family of four. People who live from paycheck to paycheck and come up short before payday are accumulating debt—at high interest rates—in order to buy necessities like food and clothing.

Bankrate.com's Financial Literacy poll shows that 23 percent of the population are maxed out on their credit cards.

The vast majority of people in the U.S. work for wages and are part of the working class—even though it has been a conscious policy of the bosses to dilute the class consciousness of better-paid workers by calling them "middle class."

Organize and fight!

The workers need to be organized for struggle in order to resist the constant pressure of the bosses to reduce their wages and benefits. But today, only 12 percent of the workers in this country belong to unions, compared to nearly 40 percent after World War II. (Communications Workers of America)

The decline of union organization has closely paralleled the decline in wages and working conditions.

For example, the average wage of a Minnesota meatpacker has fallen to less than \$10 today from \$17 an hour in 1982 (in constant dollars). This industry used to be highly unionized, but through reorganization and downsizing the corporations were able to break many union shops.

Many of today's meatpacking workers are Latino immigrants, and their rate of injuries and deaths on the job has been skyrocketing. Until recently, many immigrant workers were virtually ignored by the union movement, or seen by the leaders merely as competitors for jobs.

Now, however, a strong movement for immigrant rights is changing many unions. The meatpackers at Minnesota Beef Industries are currently voting on whether to join the United Food and Commercial Workers, the union that recently carried out a bitter struggle against three California supermarket chains that were trying to virtually eliminate health-care benefits for their employees.

The workers in many industrialized countries have won not only union-contract-covered health care but some form of national health. But this has happened only where the workers were militant and organized.

Everyone by now should know that the Bush administration puts the profits of its super-rich corporate backers first, and has tried in every way to dismantle whatever social programs have been won in the past. But what about Kerry? Where does he stand on these questions?

'I am American business's friend'

Kerry gave an interview to the Wall Street Journal, which published excerpts on May 3. Here are some of them:

"Most importantly, and I think this is really significant, the greatest drag on the American economy ... today is health care. We're paying \$4,887 per person on health care in America. ...

"Now I don't want the Canadian health-care system. I have a free-market choice-oriented system based on market principles. But it's got very powerful incentives in it. For people to behave a certain way, and differently. I would think American business would jump up and down and welcome what I'm offering. ...

"I think I am American business's friend. Personally, I think I'd be more effective for business than this administration, because this administration is squandering the consensus that we have been busy building for years for trade. And they've also squandered relations around the world that we need to do business. They're losing American jobs around the world. People don't want to do business with us. There's too much baggage that comes with it. ...

"I believe I could be far more effective in opening up marketplaces and creating a fair playing field and being an ambassador for business. ...

"I'm reaching out through a lot of different people. Bob Rubin is on my economic advisory team. [Former Clinton deputy Treasury Secretary and Wall Street financier] Roger Altman. Warren Buffett is on my economic advisory team. Steve Jobs."

And, of course, Kerry has pledged to send more troops to Iraq and is totally committed to defending the interests of the big oil companies and other U.S. empire-building transnationals. Who's going to pay for all this? The same working class whose youth have been yanked from their families and sent to fight and die in a colonial occupation of Iraq

What U.S. workers need is more than a band-aid administered by a friend of the voracious capitalist ruling class.

Now is not a time to pour millions of dollars from union treasuries into the Kerry campaign. It's a time to bolster strike funds and reach out to the millions of unorganized workers who must be mobilized to defend their interests against big business and both its political parties. \square

MARKET ELECTIONS:

How democracy serves the rich By Vince Copeland Every four years, big money chooses the presidential candidates. Their war chests filled to the brim, they are then packaged by the media as "the people's choice." It's U.S.-style democracy—of the rich, by the rich and for the rich. But how do these chosen politicians win the votes of the millions as well as the millionaires?

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Mumia Abu-Jamal from death row

...And what a 'democracy'!



[Jean-Jacques] Rousseau thought that representative government was an absolute farce.

He says the moment you vote and give up your power to some other people, they begin to represent themselves or other interests, not the interests of the people. (laughter)

-C.L.R. James, "Modern Politics"

What do we mean when we use the term "democracy"?

What does it really mean in this world at the dawn of the 21st century, when America is the sole superpower, and the United Nations is little more than her noisy instrument?

Every day, the Bush Regime promises it will "bring democracy" to Iraq, and one can almost hear the swell of the band, the flags rustling in the breeze.

But what does it really mean?

We are told that democracy means "the rule of the people." But is that really the case, not merely in Iraq, but in the United States itself?

We live in a nation where the ruling regime had the least votes in the national election, an election, it should be said, where a minority of eligible voters participated.

How is this even remotely "the rule of the people"?

Nor can we just make this claim about the fitful Americans, for the same can be said about elections in Europe, in Latin America, and beyond. Voters are unreceptive to democratic elections, and a look at them around the world shows people deeply dissatisfied with the "democracies" that claim to represent them. The reason is simple: they don't.

Canadian journalist Richard Swift, in "The No-Nonsense Guide to Democracy" (New Internationalist, 2002), explains why:

"Our current system of democracy—highly centralized governments in which we are 'represented' by a class of professional politicians—seems to have betrayed the promise of self-rule. And while the lack of real choice in competitive candidates and ideas amongst these professional politicians is a part of the malaise, it is hardly the whole picture. The system of centralized state power seems increasingly remote from most people's lives and it becomes difficult to believe that politicians (no matter what their views) concerned with the micromanagement of society and economy have any real interest in what is important to us." (pp. 24-5)

That feeling of political alienation is reinforced by something which happens after every election: the politicians say one thing, yet no sooner is he or she in power, when they do something else. It literally happens every time.

Swift explains: "A consequence of this is an extraordinary popular hostility to not only the political class but government per se and all its works. Conservative politicians have proved the most adept at harnessing this hostility (often glorifying the 'honest' market at the expense of the 'corrupt' state) and using anti-government rhetoric to achieve, paradoxically, the very positions of power they are attacking. They are even prone to attack 'big government' at the same time they are cynically using the powers of government to reward their friends and vanquish their enemies." (p. 250)

American policy-makers no more want "democracy" in Iraq, than they do in America. They want people in positions of illusions of power, who answer to American business leaders, not the Iraqi people. They want market rule, not popular rule.

Marx called the modern state's executive nothing but "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." (Marx & Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," Kerr, 1998, p. 14)

We talk about, and claim our fealty to, democracy, but in this country, as in much of the West, what determines who runs, who wins, and who benefits, all comes down to wealth.

Who but the very wealthy (or those they support) can dare to afford to run for elective office? The U.S. Senate is little more than a millionaire's club. The two-party-endorsed men running for president are millionaires, who went to schools for the rich, and come from well-to-do families.

When is the last time you heard a major politician even mention "the working class"? If they cannot even mention them, how do you think they will even begin to represent them? They don't. They can't.

To talk about democracy is not enough. It must be practiced. Its best practice is protest and dissent. \Box

May Day demonstrations hit U.S.

New York City

A people's anti-war information campaign hit Times Square in New York City on May Day.

Demonstrators called for an end to the siege of Falluja and for U.S. troops to get out of Iraq. The rally was organized by the International ANSWER-Act Now to Stop War and End Racism—Coalition as part of nationally coordinated local actions.

Tens of thousands of New Yorkers and tourists, on foot and in tour buses, read the huge yellow banner proclaiming "End the occupation!" that stretched in front of the Armed Forces Recruiting Station, site of legendary demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

Overhead, from the ABC broadcasting headquarters, giant headlines scrolled: "Arab anger surges after TV stations show images of Americans humiliating Iraqi prisoners." But passersby clearly felt they were getting the real news from the demonstrators.

Ivy Clarizio of Los Angeles, videotaping the rally to take home to show friends, said: "I think the protest is right on. We should get the hell out of Iraq." A young teenager, standing nearby with her visiting family, begged her mother to let her join the protest.

As the protesters marched down 42nd Street, the flags of Veterans for Peace flew alongside the Puerto Rican and Palestinian flags, and next to ANSWER placards proclaiming, "George Bush is a war criminal." Across the street, people clapped or nodded along with the chants.

A white male tourist in his 20s pumped his fist in the air and shouted with the marchers, "Bring the troops home now," as his father also raised his fist in solidarity.

Peter K., an Asian-American man who identified himself as a Republican, said he was in emphatic agreement with the protest: "There should not have been a war in the first place."

The marchers headed to Bryant Park, where they joined a rally against nuclear weapons. Japanese survivors of the U.S. atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki spoke at the rally.

The United States is actually spending more money on its nuclear arsenal now than it did before the overturning of the



San Francisco

Soviet Union, all the while accusing Iraq and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of possessing "weapons of mass destruction."

A traditional Korean sam ul nori troupe opened the rally with a performance of farm workers' music. Banners demanded an end to economic sanctions against the DPRK.

San Francisco

Hundreds of people stopped by a community speak-out against war and occupation in the heart of the Mission District in San Francisco on May Day. The event in the predominantly Latino district, called by the ANSWER Coalition, was conducted in Spanish and English.

Anti-war activists and community representatives talked about the significance of May 1, celebrated around the world as International Workers' Day but

ignored in the United States—where it began in 1886 out of the struggle for an eight-hour work day.

The other aspect of the protest was to remind people that one year ago President George W. Bush, dressed up like a fighter pilot on the USS Lincoln, declared that the major fighting in the war in Iraq was over. Meanwhile, the exact opposite is the case as the Iraqi resistance grows.

The May Day ralliers made a big push for the anti-war demonstration planned for June 5. ANSWER activists distributed more than 3,000 leaflets and signed up many people to join the anti-war effort to end the occupation of Iraq and everywhere.

Los Angeles

A Caravan for Justice took to the roads of Los Angeles County on May 1, making three stops to demand, "Stop immigrant



Los Angeles

In defiance of U.S. occupation

N. American delegation attend workers

By Johnnie Stevens and Sharon Black Port-au-Prince, Haiti

The great poet William Cullen Bryant was quoted as saying "truth crushed to earth will rise again." This certainly applies to the situation of Haiti and its workers, despite the almost complete media blockade and distortion of the recent coup in that country and the forced exile of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

In late April-early May a delegation of U.S. and Canadian union, community, and religious activists traveled to Haiti to break this blockade and gather information about current conditions for Haitian workers. They were invited to attend the conference of the Confederation of Haitian Workers and participate in May Day activities.

Some members of the nine-person delegation were also involved in setting up an "accompaniment project." The project's purpose is to escort and protect those who are now facing death threats or torture because of their support for Aristide and

The delegation included: Dave Welsh, a San Francisco Labor Council delegate who helped to pass a resolution condemning



Haitian trade unionists.

International Action Center activist and co-founder of Labor for Reparations; Michael Zinzun, director of the Los Angelesbased Coalition Against Police Abuse; Kevin Skerrett from the research office of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Canada's biggest union; Dr. Adrianne

Dr. Kwame O. Abayomi; Johnnie Stevens,

Aron, a clinical psychologist; Charlie opposition to the coup. Hinton of the Printers Union from the San Francisco Bay Area; and Sharon Black Ceci, Food and Commercial Workers Local 27 steward and Maryland organizer for the the coup; Baltimore City Councilmember ANSWER coalition.

Conference exposes horrendous conditions

The Confederation of Haitian Workers (CTH) is Haiti's biggest labor organization, representing manufacturing, transportation, port, agriculture, construction, education and many other workers. Hundreds of representatives from different areas in Haiti participated in the CTH conference. Debate was passionate and serious as union delegates grappled with developing a strategy on how to proceed in an environment that is now hostile and threatening.

CTH Secretary General Paul Loulou Chery has tremendous charisma and energy. He is serious and determined but has a kind, friendly manner that makes everyone around him feel respected and loved. He speaks with tremendous anger about Andy Apaid, a sweatshop owner who is blocking unionization and a member of The 184 Group that plotted the coup against President Aristide.

The workers of Haiti suffer horribly in the so-called Free Trade Zone and in the sweatshops. Workers are denied water and food rations. Wages are set at the minimum-approximately \$1.90 a day. Those who want to join unions are beaten or fired.

The problem of contract workers adds to the difficulties of unionizing. For instance, in the factories now running, 35 workers out of 500 are permanent. The vast majority are now temporary workers. Workers only receive two to three vacation days.

National Committee of Women Workers President Ginette Apoloon speaks with strength and conviction. She told us that health care is virtually absent for workers. Cash payment is required.

In contrast, she said, "Under the Aristide administration there were plans for health-care insurance that paid 50 percent of costs."

war drive

bashing and legalization now!"

The caravan was sponsored by MIWON, a coalition composed of Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles, Garment Workers Center, Philipino Workers Center, Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates and other groups.

Participants in the Caravan for Justice, with their many buses, cars, vans and trucks, spent the entire day demanding fair treatment for immigrant workers on the local, state and federal levels. The stops included the Federal Building in Westwood to denounce Bush's "guest worker proposal" which only encourages further exploitation of immigrant workers.

The second stop was at Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger's Santa Monica office—to insist that he give all workers access to a driver's license, and to immediately stop cutting health care and other social services.

The last stop was at Seoul International Park, for a march through Koreatown in support of local grocery and garment workers in their struggle against Assi Market and Forever 21. The event ended with a spirited rally in Koreatown that lasted well into the evening.

The Caravan for Justice was a success and a victory for immigrant workers throughout the state of California.

Boston

Activists brought the message "Money for jobs and education, not for war and occupation" to a street meeting in downtown Boston on May 1. The protest was organized by ANSWER Boston and the Committee for Peace and Human Rights.

Speaker after speaker denounced the continued occupation of Iraq, Palestine and Haiti. They demanded that all foreign troops leave Iraq immediately and that money should be taken from the Pentagon to fund jobs, housing, education and health care.

Speakers included representatives from ANSWER Boston, Committee for



New York City

Peace and Human Rights, Boston, Equal Marriage Solidarity Coalition, Women's Fightback Network, Steel Workers Local 8751-Boston School Bus Drivers, United American Indians of New England, Veterans for Peace, Boston Teachers Union, Brookline PeaceWorks, New England Committee to Defend Palestine and Workers World Party.

San Diego

San Diegans took to the downtown streets on May 1 to demand, "Money for human needs, not for war!" The demonstration, organized by San Diego ANSWER, took place at Horton Plaza.

The crowd was diverse, including workers and youths of all nationalities. People who passed by were overwhelmingly supportive. They honked their car horns, flashed "peace" signs and raised their fists in the air.

After a brief rally the protesters marched through the Gaslamp area. Near the end of the planned march route, the youth-led march took a militant turn. Activists headed into the Horton Plaza Shopping Mall, holding

signs and chanting, "Drop Bush, not bombs!"

Many shoppers, at first stunned, began to cheer on the marchers.

Detroit

Demonstrators in downtown Detroit took their protest against the U.S. war on Iraq to the Detroit/Windsor, Canada tunnel.

The Michigan Emergency Committee against War and Injustice called the demonstration.

Speakers called for an end to planned city layoffs and cutbacks, including the layoff of 3,200 Board of Education workers. They also demanded that Detroit's share of the Pentagon war budget, more than \$1 billion a year, be used for human needs, not war.

Providence, R.I.

Protesters, primarily Latino immigrants, commemorated May Day with a vocal march through Providence that concluded with a rally at the Immigration and Naturalization Service offices. The main call was for permanent resi-

dency for immigrants.

Providence ANSWER had a sizeable contingent that demanded an end to U.S. war and occupation.

Atlanta

Activists in Atlanta responded to an emergency call for a demonstration on April 30 by demonstrating during downtown rush hour.

The protest was initiated by the Atlanta International Action Center and supported by the Georgia Peace and Justice Coalition.

Many drivers honked their car horns in support of the demands "U.S. troops out now" and "End the occupation of Iraq!" Activists also drew a lot of support from students and workers and those shopping in the area.

Because of the great street response, organizers decided to hold regular demonstrations on Fridays at rush hour. The next one is scheduled for May 7.

Contributors: Peter Cook, Jerry Goldberg, Bill Hackwell, J. La Riva, Dianne Mathiowetz, Minnie Bruce Pratt, Pete Reilly, Mike Shaw

conference in Haiti

She emphasized that the union movement should demand an end to the sexual abuse of women on the job. Women should not be compromised.

Reports are also circulating that Andy Apaid is negotiating to buy the stateowned telephone company, Teleco, and privatize the system.

The level of frustration among the Haitian people is extremely high. Seventy percent of Haiti's population is unemployed. Rice has now doubled in price.

While most Haitians formerly ate one meal a day, it is now reported that people are eating only three times a week. This was repeated by almost everyone the delegation interviewed.

It is clear that the coup and occupation have not brought stability or a better life for the workers, peasants and poor of Haiti.

Murders, jail, reprisals, and threats continue

A young student discussed how she lost her student status because of her support for Lavalas. "Many students are now in hiding. They have been beaten up and raped", she said.

The Federation of Public Transport Workers took the delegation to the site of the union's cooperative to show buses that had been burned and destroyed on the evening of the coup. The union's offices were ransacked and their guard overpowered. Julien Atanaze, the first delegate of the union, appealed directly for support from U.S. workers.

Without concern for his own personal safety, he had returned from Miami to defend the union.

In the northern part of Haiti, delegates interviewed Milot Mayor Moises Jean-Charles. He is the also a leader in the peasant movement. He testified about murders and torture in the weeks that preceded the

This area is under the command of Guy Phillipe. People had been rounded up and killed. Hundreds of bodies were reported to have washed up on the shore. Others were locked in shipping containers and denied food and water.

He told us that many Lavalas supporters fled to the mountains. He also fled. Milot asked, "Where did they [the so-called rebels] get the money for helicopters and planes?"

He also remarked, "The Haitian elite also gives a lot of money to the rebels."

In the Cap Haitien area, Cuban doctors have remained to practice medicine.

Johnnie Stevens films burned Haitian bus.

> WW PHOTO: SHARON BLACK

There are 556 Cuban medical personnel in Haiti. Despite dire conditions they continue to provide care to the people

free of charge under a Cuban plan that provides solidarity.

As resistance continues, CTH holds May Day Rally

With U.S. troops patrolling just a block away, the CTH held a defiant May Day rally.

It was clear to U.S. and Canadian delegates that the U.S. troops dominated their Haitian counterparts. They were more numerous. They conducted the checks at the intersection.

According to eyewitness reports, U.S. military personnel have killed six people. But there have been no arrests or actions against the U.S. forces.

In one case a person was using a cell phone and was shot to death. In another incident, a Haitian driver who spoke only Creole did not heed a command to stop



and was gunned down.

Workers gathered to hear speeches and commemorated May Day by pledging to strengthen their union movement. They see the fight against the coup and international solidarity as the key.

At the rally, U.S. delegates sang "Solidarity Forever" with fervor and meaning. Haitian workers cheered.

One Haitian worker summed up the anger that is felt so deeply. He repeated with conviction and pain: "This is a shame! This is a shame! We just celebrated 200 years of independence and now we are occupied by the U.S. and French military."

He continued: "1804 means a lot of things to Black people. It is a model of freedom. The coup means shame!"

Future in-depth reports, including a special interview with Haiti Progres and PPN, will follow. \Box

Torture exposed U.S. occupation forces in disarray as Iraqi resistance

Continued from page 1

The next day the medics came and put his body on a stretcher, placed a fake IV in his arm and took him away." The dead Iraqi had never been entered into the prison system.

One of the thousands of Iraqi victims of the torture machine, Abdullah Mohammed Abdulrazzaq, an unemployed 19year-old, says he was held for six months in various prisons within the U.S. military system. One day in September, he said, "troops crashed through his apartment door ... where he lives with his widowed mother."

The troops "produced a picture of a wiry teen-ager with a rocket-propelled grenade launcher. The next thing he knew he was in a hood and handcuffs and was carted off to Adhamiya Palace," now a U.S. Army base. The U.S. was looking for "weapons of mass destruction, [Saddam] Hussein and insurgents in his neighborhood." For the next three days, he said, a Kuwaiti police captain "tortured him using electricity. U.S. soldiers came in and out of the room where he was tied naked to a chair." (Washington Post, May 3)

When he collapsed, he was taken to a hospital. He wound up at Abu Ghraib, where he lived in a tent with 40 other prisoners. They got one liter of water per week and one meal a day.

"He was interrogated every two weeks. He was taken to a room with his hands and feet tied together, he said, then thrown on the floor. In that position, he would endure hours of questioning, much of it designed to elicit a confession that he was part of the insurgency or inform on his neighbors—many of whom, he said, were already tent mates."

Such horrendous tales are now coming out in significant numbers on Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabia television. They also are beginning to surface in the big business media here.

This is the same media that until now has largely covered up the most horrendous brutality by the occupation forces, including thousands of civilian deaths, hundreds of terrorizing house raids and arbitrary roundups. They have been embedded not only with the Pentagon but with the White House for years.

If they had any real sympathy for the Iraqi people, they could have shown horrendous pictures of children dying—a half million of them—over the 11 years of sanctions. The present exposures have nothing to do with sympathy or with wanting to end the occupation. In fact, the New York Times of April 25 editorially called for a massive infusion of U.S. troops to stop the resistance.

It is no coincidence that this exposure has surfaced at the very moment that the occupation has reached its greatest crisis to date. The fact of the matter is that CBS News was preparing to release this report three weeks ago. But a call from the chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Richard B. Myers, got a two-week postponement so that the Pentagon could try to prepare damage control, cover stories and coverups. And so that Brig. Gen. Mark Kimmitt, chief of operations, could appear on 60 Minutes II to give the Pentagon's side of the story.

But three weeks ago the military was planning an all-out assault on Falluja, to the consternation of many in the ruling class establishment. Moktada al-Sadr's insurrection had taken over six cities. U.S. casualties were rising daily. The Marines had tried to take Falluja and had been forced to withdraw from the central part of the city to bases on the periphery. Iraqis everywhere were coming to the aid of Falluja with food and medical supplies.

The danger that an invasion would further escalate the national uprising was very great. If anything was clear, it was that the U.S. military was facing a war of resistance on two fronts and had lost control over major roads.

It was clear to the ruling class that the occupation was in danger and the military needed to pause to find a way to regroup and regain their balance. The endless forward aggression by the U.S. was being fought with an ever-growing heroism and determination by Iraqis, not only in Falluja but throughout the country.

Precisely at that moment the capitalist media took the decision to release the sensational photos and excerpts from the Taguba report, even though that would predictably produce a fire storm of protest in the Arab world and beyond.

Guantanamo general visited Abu Ghraib

The torture campaign at Abu Ghraib had escalated and gotten out of control after a visit by a team from Guantanamo, overseen by Maj. Gen. Geoffrey Miller, then commander of Camp X-Ray, the infamous torture center there.

The U.S. torture regime in Iraq had become a total failure, because it was right after this period that the resistance reached new levels. Whatever gains the torturers were making by way of extracting information was being dwarfed by the spreading anger and hatred, not only from prisoners but from their families and friends.

An estimated 35,000 Iraqis have been through Abu Ghraib under the U.S. occupation. Many of them were swept up arbitrarily in the numerous raids. The prison regime was generating new levels of hatred for the occupation.

As a result of the Taguba report, Brig. Gen. Janis Karpinski of the Army Reserves was removed as head of Abu Ghraib. Her replacement is none other than Maj. Gen. Geoffrey Miller of Guantanamo.

Miller's goal is to get the torture down to a more manageable level by reducing some of the "excesses" that could creep out into the public light. Hoods will be replaced by blindfolds and some of the humiliation methods may be eliminated. But the Pentagon's method of clamping down on torture is to put the master torturer in charge.

The endangered occupation is the only reason that the U.S. media and war hawks like Sen. John McCain and Sen. John Warner are suddenly "outraged" by the revelations of torture. The only reason the Washington Post, the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times are incensed is that they consider this kind of torture, under the circumstances of a failing occupation, to be excessive and counter-productive bungling by Donald Rumsfeld,

Paul Wolfowitz, Gen. Richard Myers and other right-wing managers of the Iraqi adventure.

Torture, however, is an integral part of colonialism. It is an integral part of U.S. imperialist rule around the world. In 1946 the U.S. military set up the infamous School of the Americas, now known widely as the School of the Assassins, and has trained over 60,000 military personnel from other countries in the art of counter-revolutionary assassination, execution, torture and subversion. Between 1987 and 1991, the Pentagon actually used official manuals for training in torture. "In these how-to guides," according to Covert Action Quarterly of September 1997, "the U.S. advocates such tactics as executing guerrillas, blackmail, false imprisonment. physical abuse, using truth serum to obtain information, and paying bounty hunters for enemy dead."

The manuals have since been discontinued, but the practices are alive and well. Graduates of the SOA have instituted torture in Colombia, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Peru, Brazil, Uruguay and Bolivia, among other countries.

The CIA backed the torturer Gen. Augusto Pinochet of Chile; it trained the infamous SAVAK secret police torturers of the Shah of Iran; it set up the KCIA torture and repressive regimes in South Korea; it backed and armed dictators Fulgencio Batista in Cuba, Gen. Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua and Rafael Truiillo in the Dominican Republic. All were guardians of U.S. big business and infamous for their torture of opponents.

Imperialism and colonialism routinely use torture as a response to resistance. The French did it in Algeria, the British in Kenya and many other places, the Portuguese during the Angolan resistance. The Israelis do it against the Palestinians. Of course, the U.S. did it in Vietnam. U.S. puppets in South Vietnam set up the infamous "tiger cages" and used both electric and water torture. The U.S. orchestrated the infamous Phoenix Program, which assassinated 15,000 Vietnamese. The Mylai massacre was only the tip of the iceberg.

And the U.S. military has been doing it

The heroic resistance has forced it out into the open. The false "disgust" expressed by George W. Bush, Condoleezza Rice, Colin Powell, Donald Rumsfeld and the capitalist media is pure hypocrisy.

They claim that the soldiers who carried out the torture were exceptions and did not get any training. Who has to be trained not to put electric wires on a prisoner's genitals or smash them into a wall or strip them naked for three days handcuffed in a cell? But to be conditioned to brutal torture, people have to be trained. They have to get it from the Pentagon brass who order them to terrorize and murder the Iraqi people day in and day out.

Torture in prison is totally consistent with the goals and methods of U.S. imperialism to completely dominate by force and violence the Iraqi people, their country, their politics and, above all, their oil. Dehumanization of the soldiers and of Iragis flows strictly from this profit lust and its military-CIA servants.

It also has deep roots in U.S. racism. We have only to remember the police's broomstick rape of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima and the brutal beating of Rodney King and countless other people of color held in their custody. It speaks volumes that several of the soldiers implicated in torture in Iraq had been prison guards back home.

Vietnamese hero compares Iraq with Vietnam

By G. Dunkel

Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap is the last giant of Vietnam's 35-year-long, and victorious, struggle against Japanese, French and U.S. imperialism. At 92, he is frail but still very perceptive and politically acute.

May 7 was the 50th anniversary of the decisive French defeat at Dien Bien Phu. April 30 saw the anniversary of the fall of Saigon, now Ho Chi Minh City, which marked the decisive defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

On April 30, General Giap gave a press conference in Hanoi to mark both anniversaries.

Warning Washington about its adventures in Iraq, Afghanistan and Haiti, he said, "Any forces that would impose their will on other nations will certainly face defeat. And all nations fighting for their legitimate interests and sovereignty will surely win."

He made it clear that he had no specific information on the situation in Iraq. But as one of the foremost military leaders in

the world, he has a deep knowledge of the technological strengths and political weaknesses of imperialism.

Dien Bien Phu, according to Carlyle Thayer, a Vietnam War expert at the Australian Defense Force Academy, "was a defeat that reverberated around the world. For Vietnam, it was electrifying on a global level. This was a major defeat for a colonial power at the hands of a Third World population."

Giap feels that "Vietnam proves that if a nation is determined to stand up, it is very strong." He added, "We are very proud that Vietnam was the first colony that could stand up and gain independence on its own with the victory of Dien Bien Phu."

The liberation of Saigon was also a major and decisive defeat for U.S. imperialism.

General Giap recalled a meeting in 1997 with Robert McNamara, who was U.S. defense secretary during an early stage of the U.S. intervention in Vietnam. "I told McNamara ... the U.S. lost in Vietnam



Gen. Vo Nguyen

because the

U.S. did not understand Vietnam. "During the Vietnam War, the Amer-

that." While Vietnam won great victories

ican people supported Vietnam," he

recalled. "I thank the American people for

against French and U.S. imperialism, they came at tremendous cost. In the war against the U.S., Vietnam lost between 3 and 4 million people, compared to 55,000 for the U.S. side.

But the Vietnamese people triumphed because they were led by a communist party with deep roots in the people, had a battle-tested and seasoned leadership with a deep understanding of the political forces in play, and possessed an unshakable desire for national sovereignty and independence. \square

While expressing 'concern' over rail disaster

U.S. steps up threats against North Korea

By Deirdre Griswold

Having gotten themselves into a bloody quagmire in Iraq, where every day new incidents reveal the utter political bankruptcy of their colonial occupation, are Bush administration strategists now contemplating acts of aggression somewhere else on the globe? Do they perhaps think that exerting their high-tech armed forces elsewhere will refurbish their image, now so damaged, of being irresistible conquerors able to impose the will of U.S. imperialism anywhere through sheer military terror?

Many countries—especially those targeted by the Pentagon for one reason or another—are deeply concerned. Among them is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which for over 50 years has faced tens of thousands of U.S. troops along its border with South Korea.

The DPRK insists it has the right to defend itself against Pentagon aggression. It has good reason for saying so. The Korean War ended in an armistice over 50 years ago, yet in all that time the U.S. has

refused to negotiate and sign a peace treaty with the North Koreans. So technically the U.S. is still at war with them. This gives the executive in Washington a variety of emergency powers that can be invoked at the president's discretion. It also tells the North Koreans that the U.S. could carry out an act of aggression against them at any time.

As if this wasn't enough of a threat, the Bush administration has said publicly that it has the right to act "preemptively" if it feels that the DPRK is developing nuclear weapons. In other words, it's okay for the Pentagon to have built 70,000 nuclear warheads since 1945, and to still deploy over 10,000 around the world, but a small country threatened many times by U.S. nuclear weapons must not build even one or two defensive bombs of its own.

The DPRK charges that the U.S., while talking about dialogue and a peaceful resolution of this issue, has been sending in new high-tech weapons to beef up its forces in the area. The Pentagon has also been conducting military exercises targeting the DPRK. Recently, its military police

in South Korea carried out simulated street battles against North Korean "enemies."

"Military actions are incompatible with dialogue," commented the major newspaper in the North, Rodong Sinmun, on May 3. "The U.S. saber rattling against the DPRK will only destroy the atmosphere of dialogue and complicate the situation. The U.S. adventurous military actions will only compel the DPRK's army and people to bolster war deterrent force with highest revolutionary vigilance."

It's not just the Pentagon that is trying to intimidate the DPRK. The U.S. State Department recently put out its annual list of "terrorist countries." The country that gave the world "shock and awe" presumes to judge others on the use of terror. It accuses the DPRK of supporting terrorism, something the government there strenuously denies. Once Washington puts a country on its terrorism list, it then arrogates to itself the right to impose economic sanctions and other methods of pressure and control.

On April 22 an explosion on a train car-

rying fertilizer leveled many buildings in the North Korean city of Ryongchon, killing over 150 people and injuring many more. China, South Korea and other countries immediately offered aid, which the DPRK accepted. But the Bush administration saw the disaster as a way of getting its personnel into the DPRK—something the North Koreans are rightfully wary of, especially at a time of increased military tension. So the DPRK politely refused the "teams" that Washington wanted to send.

The South Korean newspaper Chosun Ilbo reported on May 3 that Ryongchon was starting to recover from the disaster. The DPRK government had rushed help to the stricken city. "Sources say many families in the community have either been relocated with their relatives in other areas or put into temporary shelters," reported the paper.

"Children from a primary school devastated by the blast are also returning to classes at two nearby secondary schools as restoration work continues to rebuild homes and facilities damaged by the heavy train explosion."

European expansion

More wealth for bosses, more misery for workers

By John Catalinotto Brussels, Belgium

There was a lot of excitement here at the European Parliament building in the days before May 1. Workers were looking forward to their holiday. The European ruling class and its officialdom were looking forward to the so-called Eastern Expansion.

Ten mostly Central and East European countries joined the European Union on May 1, bringing its membership to 25. The new EU member states are Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

This expands the EU population from 350 million to 455 million, and its area by over 30 percent.

The expansion has different impacts on the European imperialist ruling class, the workers of Western Europe and all of formerly socialist Eastern Europe that is now brought in to the imperialist world as subject states.

The European ruling class made sure to celebrate the expansion. Tables with information on Slovenia and Slovakia attracted visitors in one section of the vast halls of the EU Parliament building. At night you could hear fireworks. One German leftist complained to Workers World later in the week that Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder should be punished for wasting 1.5 million Euros on fireworks over the Oder River on Germany's eastern border with Poland.

The EU countries are in full economic competition with U.S. imperialism. Washington expanded its market with NAFTA in 1994. It has been trying, without success, to subjugate all of Latin America with the Free Trade Area of the Americas. Now the EU has jumped ahead

by absorbing Eastern Europe.

European industry is building its own rocket and satellite system, Galileo, to compete with the Global Positioning System used now around the world and based in the United States. The bosses here in Europe don't want to depend on the United States for their communications.

The Bush administration has made it easy for the ruling classes of what Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld calls "old Europe" to look good in comparison. The mass of European workers are revolted by the Bush gang's aggression in Iraq, its arrogance regarding every area of international treaty and law, its attempts to bully everywhere in the world. In the coalition of the unwilling to serve U.S. interests—that is, in France, Germany and Belgium—even the establishment media give free play to anti-U.S. sentiment.

And for the workers?

This reaches deep into the population. A day or two before May 1, a Brussels worker won some thousands of Euros on a television quiz show. Asked what he would do with the money, he answered: "A few years ago I'd have take a vacation in the United States. I always dreamed of visiting there. But now, with Bush as president, I wouldn't even dream of visiting."

Despite these sentiments, many workers realize that European expansion is not meant to help them. It will make it even easier for the Western European bosses to find lower-wage workers and drive down wages.

Even now people tell the story of the West German textile firm that first moved into Eastern Germany after the 1989 counter-revolution overthrew socialism there. After a few years, the owner found he could operate with lower labor costs in

Romania. Then the factory was relocated again to the Ukraine, leaving people unemployed in western and eastern Germany and Romania.

Workers in Western Europe had won tremendous social benefits—free health care, high unemployment payments, adequate pensions—over the decades when there was a neighboring socialist block. Now they find all these benefits under

At a discussion forum during May Day celebrations of the Workers Party of Belgium, this attack from the bosses was the main topic. People called the cutbacks an attempt at "Americanization," as the United States is widely known as having miserable benefits.

Eastern colonies

The biggest losers are the workers in the Eastern European countries. It's a setback especially when compared with life for workers in a socialist system.

Many believed that the end of socialism and absorption by the West would mean a Western high standard of living plus holding on to most social benefits. They are now quite disillusioned.

These workers have lost most of their health care, education and pension benefits. For those who are working the pay doesn't even keep up with inflation. For the many who have lost their jobs, life has become miserable.

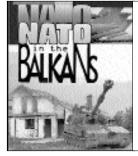
While the new EU will allow the free flow of capital to the East, it is still restricting immigration to the West. Even the Polish counter-revolutionary leader Lech Walesa complained about this. As part of accession negotiations the EU's old members secured the right to refuse work permits to Eastern nationals for a transition period—up to seven years in Germany and Austria.

"How can you come up with such an idea?" Walesa asked reporters, rhetorically.

Eastern Europe has more or less the same relation to Western Europe that Mexico and the Caribbean have to the United States: that of a neocolony. The West, especially German firms, owns all the monopolies of banking, major industry and the media with an insecure labor force subject to difficult bargaining conditions.

Perhaps the greatest irony is the fate of the Polish farmers. Under socialism they were able to keep their relatively small farms and survive. Now, in competition with more efficient production in the West, they must sell their lands, which many suspect will soon be owned by German capital.

This would be a bleak picture if it did not also contain another side: the potential to organize the working class on a continent-wide basis for struggle against the capitalists. This is no easy task, but it is the only way out for the workers here. \Box



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workers world editorial

The cause behind the effect

ecently two studies were released within days of each other. Both are categorically linked.

One study, called "The New Landscape of Imprisonment: Mapping America's Prison Expansion," was released on April 29 by the Urban Institute. What were some of its findings?

There has been a dramatic increase in the construction of state and federal prisons in the United States, from 592 in 1974 to 1,023 in 2000. Among the 10 states that had the largest increases in prison construction, Texas was number one with the building of 120 prisons over a span of 20 years—1980 to 2000. That's an average of six prisons per year.

Texas also has the most prisons in operation—137—and therefore has the highest percentage increase in the number of prisons, 706 percent. The county with the largest disproportionate number of incarcerated people is Concho, Texas, where 33 percent of its 4,000person population is locked up.

Behind Texas in prison construction growth within the same 20-year time span are Florida with 84, California with 83 and New York with 65.

Prison construction has taken place mainly in the rural areas, in part due to plant and factory shutdowns that began to accelerate at a monstrous rate during the late 1970s and early 1980s with the introduction of the high-tech industry. The prison-industrial complex is now one of the largest U.S. employers, of socalled correctional officers or guards.

The vast majority of those locked up are not indigenous to these rural areas but rather to cities. This leads us to the second study.

The Bureau of Justice Statistics released a study on May 2 showing that \$167 billion was spent in 2001 for the

state, that is, for police, prisons and courts. This was \$20 billion more than what was spent in 1999 and a 350-percent increase since 1982.

Due to the institutionalization of harsher sentences for minor infractions, especially "three strikes, you're out" in California, the number of state and federal prisoners rose from 488,000 in 1985 to 1.3 million in 2001. The number of prisoners in local and county jails tripled to 631,000 during those same years. This directly corresponds with the prison construction "boom."

It is worth repeating that there are more young Black men between the ages of 20 and 29 in prison than in college today. (Justice Policy Institute, 2002)

What these two studies don't discuss is the catalyst behind the horrific statistics. Under capitalism, big business will invest in any sector of the economy to make profits, including repression of the masses.

Prison construction equals profits. Slave labor in private prisons equals profits. And the victims are the disfranchised youths, Black, Latino, Native and poor whites, who can't find decent-paying jobs and those who are suffering from mental disabilities and drug addiction. These sectors of society make up the vast majority of the 2-million-plus U.S. prison population—the highest of any industrialized country.

Instead of spending a billion dollars a day on the brutal occupation of Iraq, instead of spending a half a billion dollars a day on repressing the masses, take that money and spend it on creating good-paying jobs with full benefits. The money is there for human needs. These studies show that the prisons and the capitalist state are the crime, not those locked up behind the walls. \Box



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Fidel Castro speaks at May Day

Following are excerpts from Cuban President Fidel Castro's May Day speech at Revolution Square in Havana. He refers to a vote in Geneva in which the U.S. was able to get Mexico, Chile and other countries to join it in accusing *Cuba of human rights violations.*

This is the 45th time we have celebrated a glorious Labor Day since the triumph of the Revolution ...

The new U.S. administration and the states in the European Union made the mistake of forgetting that at the extreme eastern end of Cuba one of the most horrendous examples of human rights violation ever to take place in this world was underway at that very moment in a 117.6 square kilometer section of land occupied by force, where the Guantánamo naval base is located, which in itself is a gross violation of the sovereign rights of a small country and of international law ...

[T]here is a generalized fear of the fierce empire, of its threats, pressure and reprisals of all kinds, especially those against the most vulnerable countries of the Third World. It is almost suicidal to vote in Geneva against a resolution drafted and imposed by the United States, especially if it is against Cuba, the country which for almost 50 years has defied its arrogance and imperiousness ...

Still, as could be seen just a few short days ago in Geneva, Cuba and 20 other countries, some acting out of principle and others showing amazing courage, opposed the resolution and 10 abstained, thus maintaining their dignity and self-respect ...

There were seven from Latin America, four of whom suffer from great economic and social poverty, are highly dependent and have governments obliged to be totally abject. Nobody could consider them to be independent states. Up to now they have been pure fiction. ...

I prefer that the way the president of Chile behaved in Geneva be judged by Salvador Allende, who went down fighting and who now occupies a place of honor and glory in the history of this continent, by the millions of Chileans vanished, tortured and murdered by design of those who drafted and proposed this resolution to censure Cuba ...

In Mexico, a beloved, sister country to all Cubans, the National Congress asked their president to abstain from voting for the resolution, although President Bush had demanded that he do so. It is truly painful to see the great prestige and influence Mexico earned in the eyes of Latin America and the world with its unimpeachable international policy, which stemmed from a genuine, far-reaching revolution, turn to ashes ...

More than half of Mexico's territory was snatched from it by its northern neighbor



and great danger threatens what is left. The U.S.-Mexican border is to all practical purposes no longer the Rio Bravo of which Martí spoke. The United States has gone much deeper into Mexico. That border is today the line of death, where about 500 Mexicans die every year. And all because of a brutal, ruthless principle: free passage for capital and goods; persecution, exclusion and death for human beings. And yet, millions of Mexicans take that risk. Today, the country obtains more income from their remittances than from oil exports, in spite of the high price of the latter. ...

Spain, which as the former colonial power in Latin America aspires to be given respect and consideration and even to play a certain role in Latin American and the Caribbean, has the responsibility and moral duty to fight for the return home of those young Latin Americans who were sent to Iraq due to the actions of the previous government.

The peoples of the world, including the Cuban people, do not hate the American people nor do they want young American soldiers to die, many of whom are Black, mixed race or Latin American, who were induced by poverty and unemployment to take up soldiering and who today are the victims of an unnecessary, stupid war.

We do not support any government in Iraq or any given political system; this is the exclusive prerogative of the Iraqis. We felt solidarity with those who died in the attacks in New York and Madrid and we condemn such methods. The enormous and growing world sympathy with the Iraqi people was generated by the brutal bombings of Baghdad and other cities which sowed terror and death among innocent civilians, totally ignoring the terrible trauma which will affect millions of children, adolescents, pregnant women, mothers and old people all of their lives, bombings for which there is no possible justification, based as they were on barefaced lies. This sympathy is growing, because billions of people have come to realize that it is a war of conquest to gain possession of the country's resources and raw materials, because there was no justification, nor legality whatsoever, because international laws were breached, because the United Nations' prerogatives and authority were ignored.

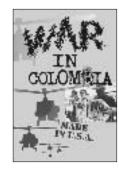
The people of Iraq are today struggling for their independence, their lives, the lives of their children and for their legitimate rights and resources. ... \square

War in Colombia: Made in the U.S.A.

by Ramsey Clark and various authors

"Plan Colombia is the largest, most comprehensive and direct U.S. intervention in the hemisphere in the long history of U.S. interventions. It threatens Colombia, Peru, Ecuador and Venezuela—Countries with over 100 million people—with more than a "war on terrorism." Plan Colombia places the political and economic independence of this huge region at risk." In this book the reader will find the truth about:

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Colombia 3 acquitted of trumped up charges

By Susanne Kelly

Three Irish activists who spent 32 months in Colombian jails were acquitted on April 26 of trumped-up charges of terrorism. But it is not clear when they will be allowed to return home to Ireland.

Niall Connolly, James Monaghan and Martin McCauley were found guilty of traveling on false passports. They were acquitted of the much more serious charges of training the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army (FARC-EP).

The men, known around the world as the Colombia 3, were arrested at El Dorado Airport in Bogotá in August 2001. They were held for six months without charges, in constant fear for their lives.

Their trial, which finally began in October 2002, was stopped and started seven times before it concluded in August 2003. They have been held in six different prisons in varying degrees of danger and mistreatment.

Connolly, Monaghan and McCauley said they were in Colombia to observe the peace process then under way, like many other international visitors. In the single statement that each man made during the trial, they singled out the U.S. and British embassies in Bogotá for special criticism, accusing them of spreading misinformation about them.

The Irish activists said that their possession of passports with assumed identities reflected only a desire to travel unhindered. Under Colombian law this is a minor offense—usually punishable only by deportation.

The men have lived in horrific conditions and without basic human rights while jailed. Among the injustices: denial of access to witnesses; threats not only to themselves but to their lawyers, families and supporters; unfair procedures; and degrading and inhumane treatment.

These conditions were confirmed by a delegation of international observers who attended the court proceedings. The observers included lawyers, elected officials and human-rights activists from Ireland, the United States and Australia. They reported serious inconsistencies in the prosecution's case, flaws in the forensic evidence used against the Colombia 3, interference by senior military and political figures, media manipulation and fabricated evidence.

A key prosecution witness testified that the Irish activists trained FARC members, but gave conflicting answers about dates and types of training. The prosecution claimed it had satellite photos, videotape and a written contract between FARC and the three men. But none of these items was ever produced.

Officials from the U.S. Embassy in

Bogotá stepped in quickly to take forensic evidence and claimed to the media that there was evidence the men had handled explosives and drugs. This evidence was completely refuted by an expert and by tests.

So why this farce? The "trial" was part of the U.S., British and Colombian governments' strategy to accomplish their repressive goals. It was an attempt to link the Irish Republican Army and the FARC and label them as "terrorists"—when in reality it is U.S. President George W. Bush, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and Colombian President Alvaro Uribe who are the terrorists.

In Britain, political, military and intelligence forces used the trial to attempt to discredit Sinn Fein and undermine the Irish peace process. Sinn Fein is the biggest political party in Ireland, representing those who want the British out of the Six Counties of northeast Ireland.

Niall Connolly, in his statement to the court, said, "Our arrests and the mass disinformation and false stories have been used to damage and undermine the Irish peace process."

Meanwhile, the Bush administration used the Colombia 3 trial to push Congress to pour more money into Plan Colombia—and to throw more support to right-wing Colombian President Uribe and his murderous policies.

Uribe used the trial to create a huge media blitz as part of the ongoing political and military attack on the FARC and other popular movements. Colombia's former attorney general confirmed that the case was politically motivated, that the Colombian military used it to get more resources from the United States and the British to suppress the movement.

What happens now? The men face fines of \$6,000 each and jail sentences from 26 to 44 months on the false passport conviction. The Irish government has offered to loan the money for the fines if the men are released now. Colombian authorities say they are planning to appeal the acquittal on the more serious charges.

Connolly, Monaghan and McCauley are now in La Modelo jail in Bogotá, reputed to be one of the most dangerous jails in the world. Family members and supporters still worry about their safety. The "Bring Them Home" campaign that worked for their release, along with the Irish government and defense lawyers, have requested security for the Colombia 3 and two of their supporters.

Catriona Ruane is one of the leaders of the "Bring Them Home" campaign. After the verdict, Ruane said: "There is no safe place for these men in Colombia. We will be telling the Colombian authorities that we want the men home now and to stop playing games with all our lives." □

Solidarity with Coca-Cola workers

Int'l caravan backs Colombian union

By Heather Cottin

The Colombian Coca-Cola workers' union, SINALTRAINAL, has called for an international caravan to travel to Colombia in solidarity with the union movement there. In response to this call, the International Caravan to Save the Lives of Colombian Workers will take place from June 20 to June 30.

The message is urgent. SINALTRAI-NAL is calling on activists from all over the world to come to the support of workers in Colombia.

"In order to continue living and constructing new dawns for our Colombia, it is necessary that the international union movement, human-rights organizations, social organizations and democratic personalities visit the country and share with us this harsh reality," says the union's statement.

All who attempt to organize in Colombia are under threat, from teachers to human-rights activists, industrial workers to petroleum workers.

From the United States, members of the International Action Center will join activists from United Students Against Sweatshops and the Committee for Social Justice in Colombia on this voyage of solidarity. The International Caravan will also include activists from Australia and Ireland.

All will bear witness to the paramilitaries' crimes all over Colombia. In addition, the delegation will accompany protesting workers at occupied factories in Medellin, visit urban youth in Cali and see an environmental project in Bogotá.

Teresa Gutierrez, co-director of the International Action Center and national coordinator of its Colombia Project, is organizing activists to join the caravan. Gutierrez told Workers World, "The IAC is calling on the religious, labor and student communities to contribute to a fundraising campaign to support the SINALTRAINAL union."

Colombian workers have faced Coca-Cola, British Petroleum, Nestlé, Occidental Petroleum, and the many other multinationals that have privatized and looted the country. In the pay of these multinationals, Colombian paramilitaries and death squads oppose workers' right to organize.

Official Colombian government policy threatens union activists. In April, a strike in Colombia's oil industry was declared an act of "terrorism" by the U.S.-backed Uribe government. The Colombian government placed legal sanctions on the 5,500-member union, arrested strike leaders, and has threatened military force to bust the strike. Death threats have been made against striking workers.

In the past five years, police and paramilitary death squads in Colombia have assassinated over 3,800 union activists, according to the Web site www.killercoke.org. The union movement declares that it is being "increasingly battered and in the process of being annihilated for the benefit of the state, the multinationals and the national monopolies."

Gutierrez says: "Labor activists in Colombia, as well as women, students, campesinos and all popular sectors, face a dire situation. Their struggle for justice is part of the anti-globalization and anti-FTAA struggle and should be earnestly supported by the solidarity movement. This is also part of the struggle against Plan Colombia, which is the military wing of the Free Trade Area of the Americas.

"The Bush administration is every day

militarizing Colombia, not only to attack the movements in Colombia, but also to threaten Venezuela and revolutionary Cuba.

"People need to think about going to Colombia. If they can't go themselves, they should try to have resolutions passed in their unions supporting struggling workers in Colombia. Unions should send messages of solidarity and contribute to the IAC's SINALTRAINAL Solidarity Campaign." \Box



WW PHOTO: DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

Eyewitness Venezuela

By Sharon Ayling

Workers World Party hosted a reportback meeting on April 30 in New York featuring William Camaro, a member of the Venezuela Solidarity Network and co-founder of Alberto Lovera Bolivarian Circle and Teresa Gutierrez, national codirector of the International Action Center. The speakers, pictured above, participated in the Second Encounter in Solidarity with the Bolivarian Revolution held in Caracas, Venezuela from April 12-16. They analyzed the revolution sweeping Venezuela, where health care, education and energy are being organized to benefit the people like never before. They reported on the mass rally they attended, where President Chavez hit the U.S. government hard, charging it with the murder of Iraqi children, the kidnapping of President Aristide of Haiti, and for being behind the failed coup in Venezuela in 2002.

IPROLETARIOS Y OPRIMINDOS DE TODOS LOS PAÍSES, UNÍOS!

Un mar de manifestantes pro derechos de reproducción protesta política de Bush

Por Sue Davis Washington, D.C.

Mujeres llegaron desde los 50 estados del país y 60 países del mundo. Estudiantes llegaron en autobuses desde Maine hasta la Florida y hasta de Wisconsin. Mujeres viajaron desde Hawai, Alaska, California, Oregon, Nuevo México, Colorado y Texas. Algunas llegaron con sus niñ@s y otras en sillas de ruedas. Marcharon con sus hermanas, hijas, madres, abuelas, amigas, compañeras de trabajo, y con sus compañeros o compañeras personales.

La masiva presencia en Washington, D.C. para la Marcha por las Vidas de la Mujeres del 25 de Abril hizo de ésta indiscutiblemente la manifestación más grande por los derechos de las mujeres en la historia de los Estados Unidos. Las organizadoras de la marcha estimaron la cifra de manifestantes que se extendía desde el Capitolio hasta el Monumento de Washington, en más de un millón. Pero también fue histórica por otras razones.

Con la participación en el liderazgo de la marcha de las organizaciones Iniciativa para la Salud de la Mujer Negra y el Instituto Nacional para la Salud Reproductiva de las Latinas, las mujeres de color llegaron en cifras gigantescas en comparación con las manifestaciones pro derechos reproductivos del pasado. Y los puntos que fueron enumerados por las oradoras y que se vieron en los carteles fueron mucho más amplios. Reflejaron los derechos a la reproducción necesarios para todas la mujeres—particularmente las obreras y oprimidas—para que escojan por sí mismas.

Letreros como "Alto a la guerra contra las mujeres," "Salud para las mujeres, no para las ganancias de las corporaciones," "Alto a la violencia contra las mujeres" y "Pro-salud, pro-vida, pro-familia, pro-derecho a escoger," mostraron un énfasis mucho más variado. Grupos como Sur Asiáticas por la Vida de las Mujeres marcharon junto a la NAACP.

En la multitud se vio la participación de la juventud mucho más que antes. Las organizadoras de la marcha anunciaron que por lo menos una tercera parte de la multitud era menor de 25 años. Hubo veintenas de contingentes colegiales y grupos como Jóvenes Pro Alternativa. Para muchas de ellas, fue su primera manifestación nacional.

Lo que unió a las manifestantes e incitó la airada concurrencia—fue la oposición a las políticas reaccionarias de la administración de Bush. Los ataques de Bush al derecho del aborto, la educación sexual y el acceso a los servicios de salud reproductiva galvanizaron a la multitud. Así como también los ataques contra los recortes en el cuidado de la salud, la educación, viviendas y servicios de cuido de niños que las mujeres deben tener para poder criar a sus hij@s. Algo interesante fue que la marcha era más anti-Bush que pro-Kerry. Oradora tras oradora enfatizó la necesidad de sacar a Bush en noviembre, pero no ofrecieron nombre alguno como alternativa.

¿Porqué marcharon?

Las manifestantes participaron por muchas razones. Algunas eran acompañantes de clínicas en Chicago, consejeras de Albuquerque, estudiantes de la Universidad de Massachussets/Amherst con estudios sobre la mujer y miembras de la organización Maternidad Planificada (Planned Parenthood) de Sarasota, Florida y San Francisco.

Juno, una mujer africana-americana de la ciudad de Kent, en Washington, en las afueras de Seattle, tenía una profunda razón que la hizo participar. "Cuando quedé embarazada después de haber sido violada sexualmente en 1969 y el aborto era ilegal, tuve que ir a México y arriesgar mi vida para obtener un aborto," dijo. "Yo sobreviví, pero muchas otras no. Yo sé por experiencia personal que todas las mujeres necesitan el acceso legal al aborto." Efectivamente, una joven llevaba un letrero que decía: "Un aborto ilegal mató a mi bisabuela."

Katie Linde, una trabajadora en el servicio de la salud pública de Minnetonka, Minnesota dijo a Mundo Obrero el porqué ella vino a participar. "Yo creo que es muy importante para todas las mujeres el tener acceso a la planificación familiar. Esa es la base para la oportunidad económica y la

justicia social para las mujeres. Las mujeres toman decisiones sobre el cuidado de salud para sus familias. Si confiamos que lo hagan para sus niñ@s, las mujeres necesitan el apoyo para que lo hagan para sí mismas."

Una gran delegación que llegó desde Texas denunció a Bush con furor. Isabel Gotschall, una enfermera de psiquiatría que trabaja en una clínica rodante en Houston, llegó con su hermana y sus hijas. "Los derechos de las mujeres se ven amenazados. La derecha religiosa controla la radio. Necesitamos todo un nuevo sistema de salud, especialmente para la salud mental," dijo ella.

Mildred Leggett, miembra de la organización Mujeres Africanas Americanas Evolucionando que aboga por la educación en el cuidado de salud para las mujeres de color en Chicago, participó porque "Yo soy pro opción. Creo que toda mujer en América se merece un servicio de salud de buena calidad."

La cifra de hombres que marcharon en apoyo a este asunto, también fue grande. Dustin Carter, un estudiante del colegio Hanover College en Indiana, vino "a apoyar a mis amigas. Yo creo que el derecho a escoger es de la mujer. Es el cuerpo de la mujer hasta que el bebé ha nacido." Entre los hombres hubo muchas parejas gays.

En realidad, la comunidad lesbiana, gay, bisexual, y trasgénera estuvo muy visible y vocifera. Una joven mostró su pancarta orgullosamente, "Yo soy otra lesbiana embarazada favoreciendo el derecho a escoger." Una mujer, marchando de manos con su pareja, tenía escrito, "Embarazada por mi opción" en la piel de su barriga prominente.

Dos contingentes enormes y ruidosos fueron los Católicos por una Libre Opción y los Estudiantes de Medicina por el Derecho a Escoger. Los dos grupos son voceros importantes en sus campos respectivos.

Katy Ramírez, que trabaja en el Departamento de Viviendas de Los Ángeles y es miembra del sindicato AFSCME, dijo que estaba "sorprendida de la cantidad de participantes. Es muy estimulante que haya tanta energía positiva de parte de las mujeres."

La coalición ANSWER organizó un contingente antiguerra en la marcha. Después de que los manifestantes se concentraron en el mall para escuchar discursos hasta el mediodía, marcharon frente a la Casa Blanca y volvieron al mall para un mitin final. Entre un mar de letreros color rosado brillante del grupo Maternidad Planificada y otro de pancartas en amarrillo y azul del grupo Naral Pro-Choice America había otros del Instituto de Latinas que proclamaban: "Salud, dignidad, justicia."

Algunos letreros hechos a mano eran graciosos: "Soy una mamá menopáusica recordando la opción", y "EE.UU. fuera de mi útero". Otros eran más serios. "Derechos homosexuales son derechos reproductivos," y "Una mujer no debe tener que escoger entre alimentarse y tener un bebé". El lema "No intervención de los EE.UU. en el útero de la mujer", hizo la conexión entre el derecho de escoger y

la guerra en Irak.

La participación masiva confirmó de nuevo que son las causas progresistas, -como por ejemplo las luchas en contra de la guerra y el racismo y para los derechos de l@s inmigrantes y para mujeres y lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y trasgénerosque son capaces de activar a grandes cantidades de personas comprometidas, incluso en un período de reacción impuesta por el estado. Fue una anomalía y dañina a esta corriente progresista que las organizadoras del evento permitieran participar hablando en la tarima y marchando en el contingente principal a personalidades gubernamentales como la ex Secretaria de Estado Madeleine Albright quien en 1996 dijo a la periodista Leslie Stahl que las muertes de 500.000 niños iraquíes provocadas por las sanciones "valían la pena".

Crisis en el cuidado de la salud para las mujeres de color

Las estadísticas publicadas por las organizadoras de la marcha revelan temas críticos que indujeron la demostración. "Cada día más 200 mujeres mueren en el mundo como consecuencia de abortos inseguros-más de 80.000 muertes innecesarias al año." Restricciones como la "mordaza global" de Bush que recortó los fondos para los servicios de planificación de la familia internacionalmente en el 2001, resultan en que 500.000 mujeres mueran de afecciones relacionadas con el embarazo, 3 millones de mujeres mueran de causas relacionadas al SIDA y 80.000 mueran de las consecuencias de abortos inseguros.

Un volante con informes estadísticos que fue preparado para la marcha destacó que prohibiciones contra las subvenciones del aborto ponen en peligro a familias enteras: "Un 36 por ciento de mujeres que reciben el Medicaid que pagaron por sus abortos dijeron que el dinero con que ellas pagaron el aborto hubiera podido ser utilizado para el alquiler, la calefacción o la luz; un 32 por ciento dijo que hubiera utilizado el dinero para comprar ropa para sus hijos u otros familiares, y un 17 por ciento dijo que hubiera comprado comestibles."

Ese volante informativo notó que las necesidades de salud reproductiva de las mujeres de color y las pobres no están siendo satisfechas: "La tasa de embarazo no planificado entre las latinas es casi dos veces más alta y para mujeres africanas americanas casi tres veces más que la de las mujeres blancas. La tasa de mortandad materna es casi dos veces más alta para latinas y cuatro veces más alta para las mujeres africanas americanas que para las blancas."

Jade, una trabajadora joven de la ciudad de Nueva York, estaba visiblemente impresionada por su primera manifestación. "Es realmente increíble que toda clase de personas −no importa la raza, el género o la edad− puedan unirse así para mejorar al mundo." Y Judith, que opera la única librería feminista en el estado de Washington, habló por muchas cuando dijo, "Representamos muchas mujeres que querían participar pero no pudieron venir." □



Washington, D.C., 25 de abril.

FOTO: JOHN CATALINOTO